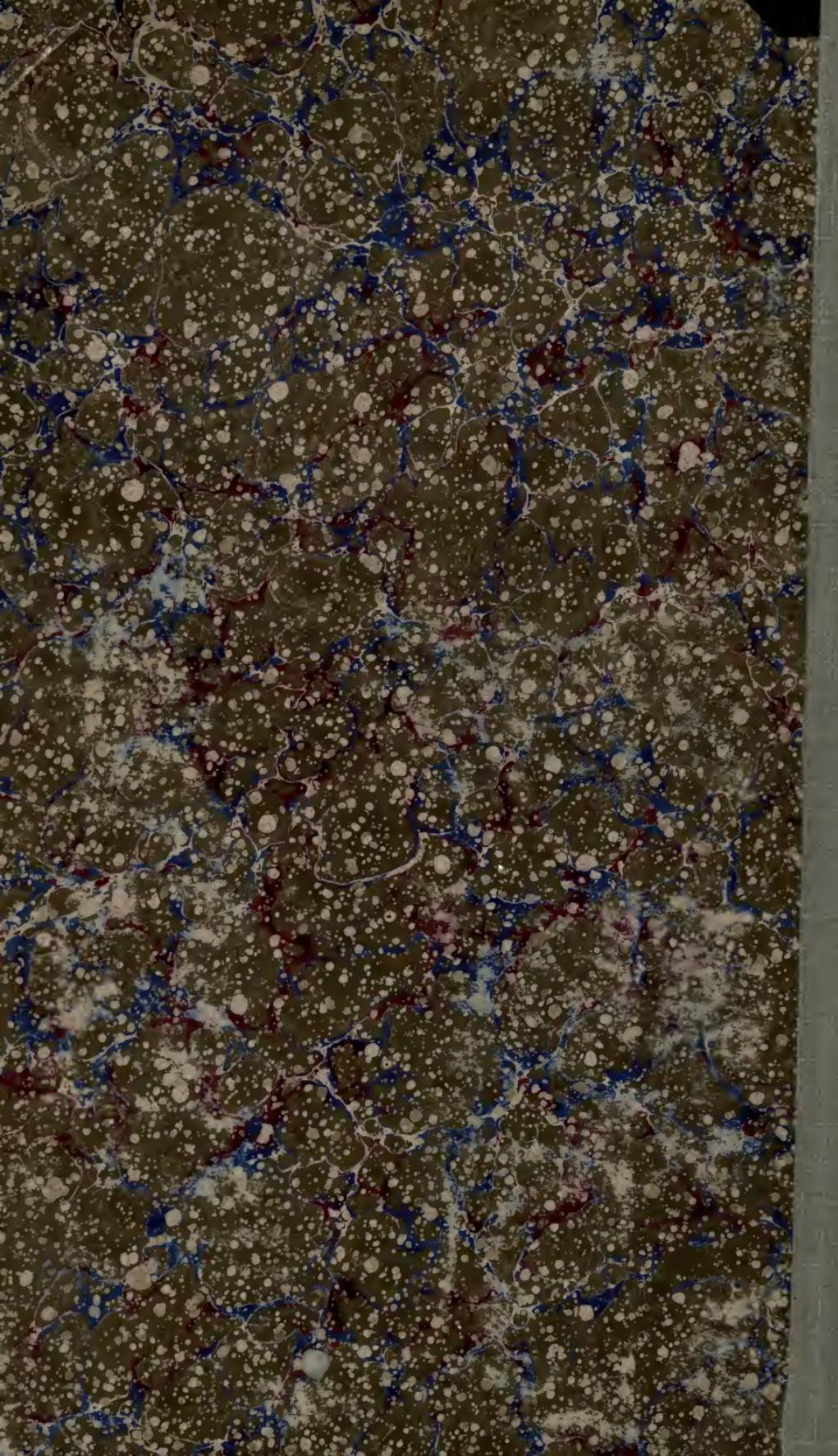
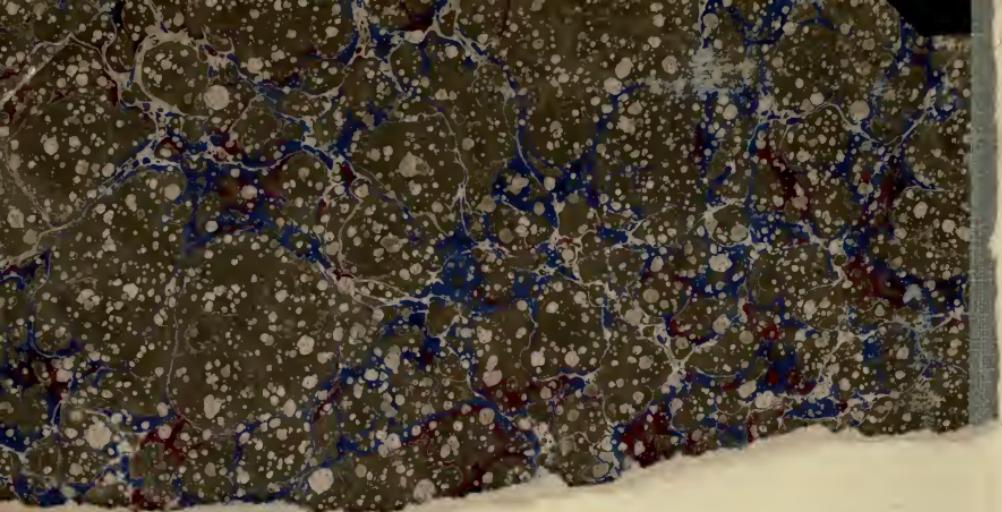
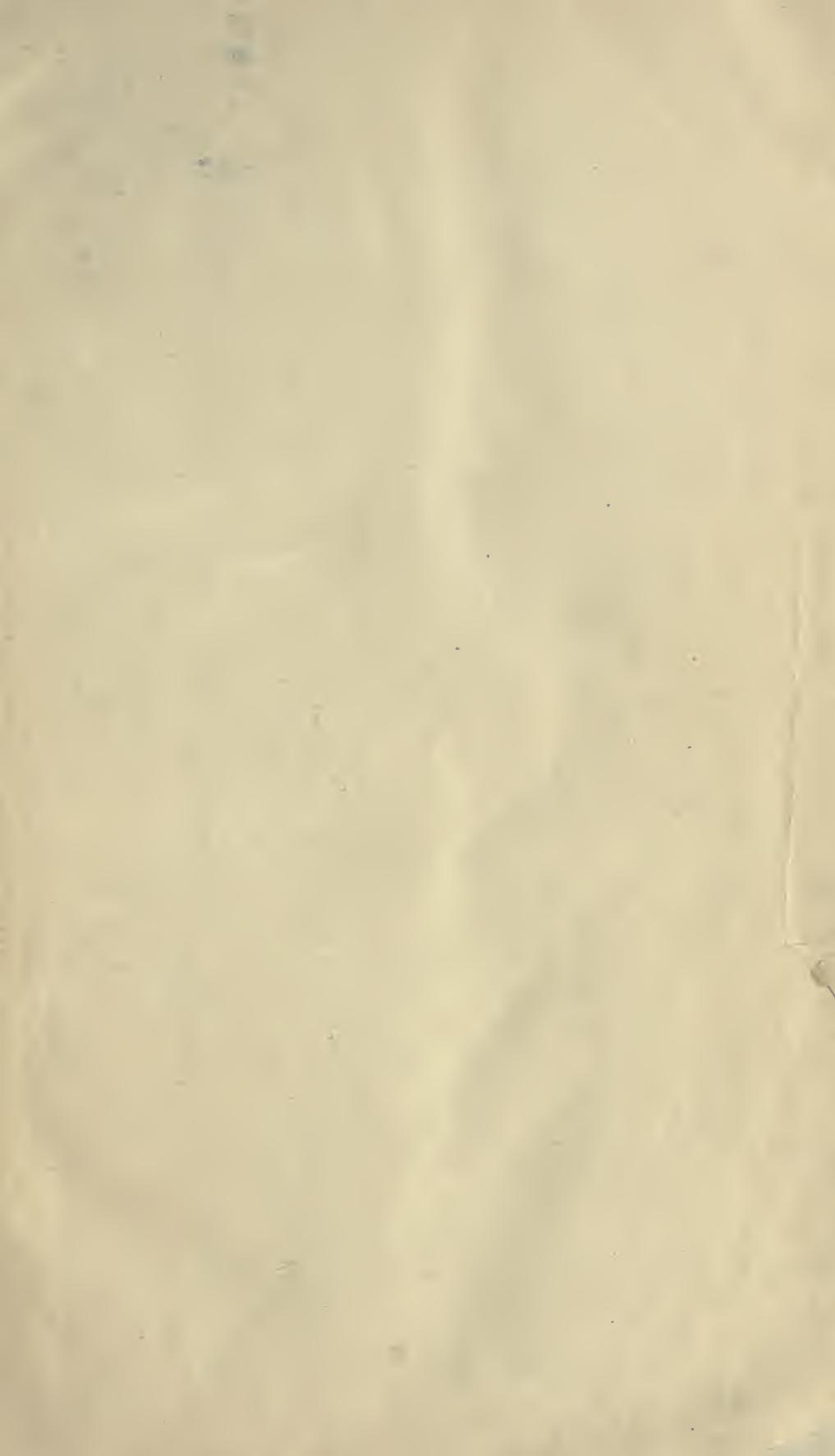


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# Historic Elements

IN

## Virginia Education and Literary Effort.

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*A paper read before the Virginia Historical Society*

*Monday, December 21st, 1891.*

BY

PROFESSOR JOHN BELL HENNEMAN, M. A., Ph.D.,  
HAMPDEN-SIDNEY COLLEGE, VIRGINIA.

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The key to Virginia's intellectual past, and consequently to her after development, lies in large measure in what science teaches is true of individuals—and, as we might infer, also of a collection of individuals, like the State—namely, the principles of heredity and environment. What is the origin of Virginia's people? What are the sources of her various race-elements? and how has the further history of these elements been affected and modified by climatic conditions, by geographical divisions, by the physical contour of the land, by peculiarities of soil, nay, further, by traditions and customs and habits, that manifestation of a man's self and a nation's existence from which neither ever seems to break completely away.

Cast a glance upon the map of Virginia and note the divisions of to-day, politically, materially, and industrially, varied and diverse. Five divisions will indicate roughly these differences: First, the Tide-Water, including the parts contiguous to the navigable streams; second, the Southside; third, the Valley; fourth, the Southwest; and fifth (I shall add for our present purposes), West Virginia. These geographical divisions, apparently made for convenience, in reality affect deeply the inner history of the State, and were originally the settling places of peoples, however commingled later, of different origins, governed

by different principles, and affected by different interests. Four race-elements are important enough in the history of Virginia's culture to bear distinction: the English, the Scotch-Irish, the German, and the French Huguenot. The African negro would constitute a fifth.

The first settlers were the English. Coming over at the instigation of the Virginia Company in London,<sup>1</sup> their objects were very similar to the later East Indian and Southern and Central African companies: to found a colony, to establish plantations, to engage in trade with the natives, to extract from a fresh soil its mineral and agricultural wealth, to amass fortunes, and possibly to achieve fame.

It needs little discernment and slight study of the map of the New World to note how admirably just this part of the entire American coast was adapted to their purposes. Stretched before them lay the beautiful waters of the Chesapeake. Into this flows fairly parallel the great river of the Potomac; the Rappahannock; the York, with its confluentes; the Mattaponi and the Pamunkey; the James and its tributaries, the Chickahominy and the Appomattox, all forming fertile and pleasing peninsulas and presenting a perfect tracery and net-work of navigable waters, great highways for commerce and communication. The Bay itself and the Ocean create still another great peninsula, that of the "Eastern Shore." From these sections these pioneers spread slowly to the north and west and south, following, in the main, the courses of the larger streams.

It is a most striking illustration how the topography and physical features of a land determine its history, its social, political, and particularly its economical and intellectual development. Sufficient labor was naturally difficult to obtain, and the demand grew still greater as the tobacco crop became the staple of produce and the plantations encroached on the forest domain. Economical conditions create history; and a dozen years after the colony had been planted, the first ship-load of African slaves was introduced.<sup>2</sup> The social scale was lengthened at both ends. Plantations became more princely, as hundreds of servants were

<sup>1</sup> Edward D. Neill: *The Virginia Company in London*.

<sup>2</sup> Minor's *Institutes*, Vol. I.

added as laborers and domestics. The English manorial estate, controlling the surrounding acres, leading in the vestry meeting of the neighboring church, was the model upon which the Virginian's life and government were patterned.<sup>3</sup> Physical geography produced also here its effects. The scattered homes and estates, extending irregularly along the courses of rivers, necessitated the division into counties of irregular shape and unequal extent; and these counties were accepted as the unit of society and the basis of representation in the government.<sup>4</sup> The contrast with New England already accentuated by certain differences in people, in altitude, in thought, was here complete. The colonists in Massachusetts and Connecticut, for reasons both natural and social, dwelt in compact communities, living close together and knit by common interests. These had naturally recourse to the township or ward as the central point in their democratic system, and a county composed a number of these smaller divisions. It is unprofitable to discuss the advantages of the one form of government as compared with the other, to praise one as containing germs of liberty, which the other does not possess.<sup>5</sup> Nature and climate and mode of life imposed the one upon New England and the other upon Virginia. In both colonies we find local self-government and individual liberty alike dear and near to an English-speaking people.

True Englishmen these Virginians remain; there is still manifest throughout, the Englishman's love of out-door pleasure, of an open-air existence, of a life filled with excitement and adventure. Professor Moses Coit Tyler, in his *History of American Literature*,<sup>6</sup> asserts: "These constitute a situation out of which may be evolved country gentlemen, loud-lunged and jolly fox-hunters, militia heroes, men of boundless domestic heartiness and social grace, astute and imperious politicians, fiery orators, and bye and bye, here and there, perhaps, after a while, a few amateur literary men; but no literary class and almost no literature." These were, at least, the conditions which produced "militia heroes" like Washington and Lee; "fiery orators"

<sup>3</sup> Woodrow Wilson: *The State*.

<sup>4</sup> John Fiske: *Civil Government in the United States*.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Adams: *Life of John Randolph*.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. I, p. 92.

like Patrick Henry and Randolph, of Roanoke; "astute and imperious politicians" like Jefferson and Madison; "country gentlemen" like Wythe and Mason and John Marshall.

The second race element, entering into the make-up of Virginia's culture, is the Scotch-Irish. One hundred and thirty years after the tide-water was settled, the valley received this stream of immigration.<sup>7</sup> The situation of the original home of the Scotch-Irish in Virginia was typical of the spreading of the race itself to the four quarters. Their settlements extended along the headwaters of streams flowing in all directions—some northward with the Shenandoah to empty into the Potomac; others eastward into the James or more southerly into the Roanoke; others southerly and westward into the Holston, and thus into the Tennessee; and still others into the Greenbrier and Kanawha, and thence down the Ohio. That descendants still retain that love of external scenery, inborn in their ancestry, is one of the curious problems which science attempts to explain. Whether we view the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania or Virginia, in North or South Carolina, in Tennessee or Kentucky, they have fairly well followed the Appalachian range and its offshoots and the courses of its streams, the highlands and the Piedmont section ever remaining that portion where their genius seems to flower at fullest perfection.

These people added to the character of the colony a much needed Puritan element—stern, serious-minded, burdened with consciences, somewhat severe in their aspects of life and in their relations with the world, but in their very nature earnest, law-abiding, upright, staunch, honest patriots, filled with a love of liberty inherited from generations of Scotch covenanters.

The German element seems at first sight not to have been so pronounced as might have been expected from their early contact. This is due in large measure to their natural conservatism and their contentment, clustering by themselves, to lead simple,

<sup>7</sup>J. L. Peyton: History of Augusta County; J. A. Waddell: Annals of Augusta County; Henry Ruffner: Early History of Washington College. J. H. Bryson: The Scotch-Irish in America—seems to me to claim *too* much; the Scotch-Irish have surely done enough, without one's desiring to go beyond legitimate limits and to ascribe nearly everything to them.

thrifty and comparatively secluded lives.<sup>8</sup> In reality the geography of the State has been deeply affected, as the abundance of post-offices bearing German appellations testify,<sup>9</sup> and a study of the catalogues of the Valley and westerly institutions reveal a constantly marked increase in students whose names show them to be descended from these eighteenth century pioneers.<sup>10</sup> William Wirt, Attorney-General of the United States and author of the first Life of Patrick Henry, Judges Conrad and Sheffey, Governor Kemper, Koiner and Speece, are among the prominent representatives of this race.

The French element in Virginia has been not so large, but marked in capacity and distinct in quality. Settling along the upper waters of the James on the border of Goochland and Powhatan, this original handful of Huguenots became distributed here and there in all sections of the State, particularly along the James and the Appomattox, the Southside receiving possibly the larger share.<sup>11</sup> Maury, Marye, Maupin, Michaux, Legrand, Fontaine, Flournoy, Dupuy, Dabney, are but a few among many Virginian family names from this source.

I have just alluded to the Southside and its French elements. Half-way between the tide-water and the mountains of the Blue Ridge, the southern section of Virginia received an admixture of both English and Scotch-Irish. A further commingling with the French Huguenots intensified the Presbyterian influence. Add to this the labors of Samuel Davies and other missionary evangelists, and we have the causes which gave rise to Hampden-Sidney College in Prince Edward.<sup>12</sup> But if any point is clear in the educational history of the State, it is the fact that her early institutions in their origin are not so much the creatures of de-

<sup>8</sup> Henry Ruffner: *History of Washington College*—characterizes very fairly both the Scotch Irish and the German settlers.

<sup>9</sup> Post-Office Directory; Rand, McNally & Co.'s Railway Guide, etc.

<sup>10</sup> General and Annual Catalogues of Washington and Lee University, University of Virginia, Roanoke College, Hampden-Sidney College, etc.

<sup>11</sup> R. A. Brock: *Huguenot immigration to Virginia*—*Virginia Historical Collections*, Vol. V, New Series.

<sup>12</sup> W. H. Foote: *Sketches of Virginia*; Hugh Blair Grigsby: *Centennial Oration at Hampden-Sidney College in 1876*.

nomination as the result of traditions of *race* and *place*. They sprang from local needs, were supported by local patronage, and only by degrees, for especial reasons and in exceptional cases, did they become institutions for a whole land. Only three of these belong to the first half century of our national existence (1775-1825): The College of William and Mary for the Tide-Water section; Hampden-Sidney College for the Southside; and Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) for the Valley.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Two members of the Senior Class of Hampden-Sidney College, Mr. James P. Moss, of Texarkana, Texas, and Mr. Cochran Preston, of Smyth county, Virginia, have been good enough to investigate this point, Mr. Moss taking the General Catalogue of William and Mary of 1874, and Mr. Preston that of Washington and Lee University, published in 1888. It had been my hope and intention of having the past of Hampden-Sidney College treated in like manner, but the General Catalogue has not yet appeared, and complete material was therefore not accessible. The work of these gentlemen has been very painstaking, and I trust that the results may prove valuable as statistics. These have been tabulated for each year and each county and State on charts preserved in the Hampden-Sidney College Library, and from these I have easily made the following tables. The period before the late war is separated into three divisions: First, the eighteenth century and then two others, the dividing point being 1825, the date of the opening of the University of Virginia. The table for William and Mary has been brought down only through 1861, owing to the peculiar sufferings of that institution for many years, induced through the war. The post-bellum period for Washington and Lee has been, for convenience, cut into two, the first being the decade from 1865 to 1875, displaying the influences due to General Lee's presidency, markedly increased accessions from the Southwestern States being the most striking. Many other interesting facts will be readily seen by a comparison of the two tables, which conclusions I must leave to the interested reader to draw, the lack of space forbidding a longer digression. To assist this comparison in some small measure, I have appended to the William and Mary table corresponding figures for Washington College for the same county and the similar period. The central counties have naturally sent both east and west, and the increase in the figures of Henrico, Norfolk, and Dinwiddie counties in the history of William and Mary, shows the expansion of urban at the expense of rural population.

[To avoid a too great division of the text and to present the table more clearly, it is printed as an appendix.—ED.]

The college of William and Mary was the offspring of the genius of the English race in northern and eastern Virginia. The objects asserted were "to the end that the church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the western Indians to the glory of Almighty God." There is about this the true and unmistakable English ring.<sup>14</sup>

It was a college for both church and state, because church and state were then one. In the chapel could assemble, with equal propriety, a band of college youth, a convention of the church, a body of legislators. But the influences were still stronger. Williamsburg was not only the educational and the religious centre of the English colony, it was the seat of the colonial governors, men who, imitating the state and ceremony of the court of St. James, introduced style, fashion, luxury, social grace—in short, a world's culture. Here were the sessions of the House of Burgesses, comprising the most prominent and active men in the colony; here were the law courts, and later the seat of the chancellor and the school for law. No wonder these young Virginians became natural leaders. They received their training, besides, in their homes, among domestics, in the fields, on the plantations, in church matters as vestrymen, as justices in the county courts, and, finally, in the capital at Williamsburg as members of the House of Burgesses and of the Governor's Council. Perhaps such an atmosphere was not too favorable for the production of preachers, if that had been the hope of the founders of William and Mary. The genius of this people lay no more in that direction than in philology and mathematics, or even in literature, though none of these branches was neglected in a way; but their genius in state-craft was consummate. They became students of politics, of government, and of the law; and it was the teachers in these departments, George Wythe, the chancellor, Judge St. George Tucker, and their successors, who inspired and captivated the youth of the time.<sup>15</sup> And later, toward

<sup>14</sup> H. B. Adams: *The College of William and Mary*; also, *The History of the College of William and Mary*.

<sup>15</sup> George Wythe was professor of law from 1779; St. George Tucker, his successor, from 1800 to 1804.

the middle of the century, when abolition and territorial sovereignty and states' rights were the great issues involved, President Thomas R. Dew and Professor Beverley Tucker were still upholding the genius of the race and the institution among youth nurtured in the same traditions.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Thomas R. Dew is represented in the General Catalogue as having taken A. B. in the session of 1820-'21, and A. M. in that of 1824-'25. Shortly afterwards he became Professor of Political Economy, History and Metaphysics, and in 1836 succeeded to the Presidency, which he held until his death, ten years later. Judge Beverley Tucker was Professor of Law from 1833 to 1851. These seem to have been golden days for William and Mary—the decade under Dew's presidency (1836 to 1846) showing five hundred and fifty-five names in the General Catalogue against two hundred and ninety in the preceding, and three hundred and twenty-two in the following ten years. The *Southern Literary Messenger*, the truest exponent of the literary culture of Virginia for the thirty years of its existence, gives full testimony to the activity and influence of both of these gentlemen. I cite from its pages:

March, 1836. An Address: or the Influence of the Federative Republican System of Government upon Literature and the Development of Character—prepared to be delivered before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Virginia at its annual meeting in 1836, by Thomas R. Dew, Professor of History, Metaphysics and Political Law, in the College of William and Mary. Published by request of the Society, March 20, 1836.

October, 1836. An Address delivered before the students of the College of William and Mary, at the opening of the College on Monday, October 10, 1836, by Thomas R. Dew, Professor, &c. Published by request of the Students. [The occasion was Professor Dew's accession to the Presidency.]

February, 1837. A review of the above address.

July, 1837. Baccalaureate Address delivered to the Graduates of William and Mary College, July 4, 1837, by Thomas R. Dew, President.

November, 1846. Notice of the death of President Dew, which gives the following list of his works: A Treatise in Defence of Free Trade; Defence of Slavery; Notes on Ancient and Modern History, designed as a text-book for class, and including Review of the Causes and Effects of the French Revolution; The Characteristics of Women—a series of articles which appeared in the earlier numbers of the *Messenger*. [After his death, was published in 1851: A Digest of the Laws, Customs, Manners and Institutions of the Ancient and Modern Nations.]

January, 1837. Extended reviews of Beverley Tucker's two novels, "George Balcombe" and "The Partisan Leader." [The review of

Mr. Jefferson had to send abroad for Professors in Latin and Greek, Mathematics, and Modern Languages, in furnishing his

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the former of these two "anonymous" novels ends thus: "George Balcombe thinks, speaks and acts as no person, we are convinced, but Judge Beverley Tucker ever precisely thought, spoke or acted before;" while that of the second lets fall no word nor hint as to the probable hand that had traced it. In this number fifty-four and a half pages are devoted to criticisms and reviews, and forty to the *literary* contents!]

April, 1837. A Lecture on Government by Professor Beverley Tucker, delivered before the students of the College of William and Mary, March 6, 1837.

December, 1838. A Discourse on the Genius of the Federative System of the United States, prepared to be delivered by Professor Beverley Tucker, of the College of William and Mary, read before the Young Men's Society, of Lynchburg, Va., August 26, 1838.

August, 1839. Political Science: A Discourse on the questions, What is subject of Sovereignty in the United States, and what the relation of the People of these States to the Federal and State Governments respectively, read before the Petersburg Lyceum, May 15, 1839, by Judge Beverley Tucker, of the College of William and Mary.

September, 1839. A Lecture: delivered to the Law Class of the College of William and Mary, June 17, 1839. This is the last of a course of lectures on the Philosophy of Government and Constitutional Law by Judge Beverley Tucker.

[In the number for January, 1842, a reference is made to the determination some years (*sic*) ago to discontinue furnishing lectures and addresses as *literary* matter, owing to the complaints of the readers, and naturally, one afterwards hears less in these columns of the two great favorites. However, a departure from this rule is soon noted.]

September, 1842. Temperance: An Address before the Temperance Society of the College of William and Mary by Beverley Tucker, Professor of Law.

Finally, two representative articles in the volume for 1850. The one: Observations on a Passage in the Politics of Aristotle Relative to Slavery—*Apropos* of an Essay on Slavery by Thomas R. Dew, late President of the College of William and Mary, second edition, Richmond, 1849. The other: Origin and History of the High Court of Chancery, dedicated to Hon. N. Beverley Tucker—being a Review of Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England, and of Spence's Jurisdiction.

In the joint number for October and November, 1851, the Editor's Table announces the death of Beverley Tucker, at Winchester, on August 26, 1851.

State university;<sup>17</sup> but for Political Economy, Law, and the Science of Government he had only to reach out his hand among the graduates of William and Mary.<sup>18</sup>

But what growth could literature, as the expression of an *art*, enjoy in such an atmosphere?

But no less did the Scotch-Irish possess their institution. As early as 1749 those in the Valley originated Augusta Academy.<sup>19</sup> Those in the Southside were among the chief promoters in 1775, for the Prince Edward Academy.<sup>20</sup> Through the patriotic fervor engendered by the Revolution, the one became changed into Liberty Hall and the other to Hampden-Sidney College. I have referred to the personality of George Wythe and St. George Tucker and the consequent school of jurists and statesmen at Williamsburg. Here we have to deal with the personality of William Graham in Rockbridge,<sup>21</sup> and of the two brothers, Samuel Stanhope Smith and John Blair Smith, in Prince Edward. All three were Pennsylvanians by birth, were reared under Scotch-Irish influences, were pupils of Dr. Witherspoon, at Princeton, and preachers in the Presbyterian Church. The Princeton influence, ever strong in Virginia,<sup>22</sup> was now at its highest. Circumstances combined to make Lexington as much a centre of intellectual culture for the one people as Williamsburg for the other. The mental activities of the youth were directed not so

<sup>17</sup> H. B. Adams: Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia; W. P. Trent: The Gilmer Letters.

<sup>18</sup> Not only were Thomas Jefferson, Joseph C. Cabell, and Chapman Johnson, all of whom were prominent in founding the new State University, old students of William and Mary, but also Francis W. Gilmer, the Commissioner to England, and Professor elect of Law; George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, 1825-'45; John Tayloe Lomax, Professor of Law, 1826-'30; John A. G. Davis, Professor of Law, 1830-'40; Henry St. George Tucker (brother to Beverley Tucker, and son of St. George Tucker), Professor of Law, 1841-'45.

<sup>19</sup> General Catalogue of Washington and Lee University; H. A. White: The Scotch-Irish University of the South.

<sup>20</sup> W. H. Foote: Sketches of Virginia, first series.

<sup>21</sup> Henry Ruffner: Early History of Washington College; Hugh Blair Grigsby: The Founders of Washington College; Foote's Sketches.

<sup>22</sup> Princeton Catalogues.

much to law and politics—although the history of the times would not allow these anywhere to remain wholly in the background—but it was theology and metaphysics which absorbed most attention. The genius of the race—the Scotch—was again triumphant. Among Graham's pupils in Rockbridge we find Revolutionary heroes, congressmen, and judges; but it is a telling fact that more than one-fourth from among them became preachers of the Gospel.<sup>23</sup> It is to four of these<sup>24</sup>—Archibald Alexander, Moses Hoge, John Holt Rice, and George A. Baxter, imbued with the spirit and purpose instilled by the teacher—that is due the rise and greatness of the two historic seminaries of Calvinistic theology at Princeton and at Hampden-Sidney.

Much the same characteristics are fairly manifest in the history of Hampden-Sidney College. She has turned out a President of the United States, one or two Cabinet members, Congressmen, Governors, and Judges, but the genius of the institution has been far more directed towards producing an educated ministry<sup>25</sup> and to filling professional chairs and presidencies of edu-

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<sup>23</sup> Graham was Tutor from 1774 to 1776, and from 1776 to 1796 Rector or Principal. Of the one hundred and fifty-three names in the General Catalogue as having registered between 1749 and 1800, forty became ministers (thirty-seven Presbyterian, two Episcopalian, and one Independent), *i. e.*, 26 *per cent.*

<sup>24</sup> Archibald Alexander was afterwards President of Hampden-Sidney College (1797-1806), main instigator of the movement for a Presbyterian theological seminary, and first Professor in the same at Princeton (1812-1851); see *Life of Alexander* by (his son) James W. Alexander, Moses Hoge was Alexander's successor as President of Hampden-Sidney College (1807-1820), and founder of the Theological Department at the same. John Holt Rice became Tutor in Hampden-Sidney College, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Richmond, founder and Editor of the *Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine* (1818-'28), President-elect of Princeton College, and founder of the Union Theological Seminary at Hampden-Sidney as a distinct institution, and first Professor in the same (1824-'31). George A. Baxter was a follower of William Graham in the Presidency of Washington College (1799-1829), and was Dr. Rice's successor in Union Theological Seminary (1831-'41).

<sup>25</sup> Mr. Blair Dickinson, of Prince Edward county, Virginia, a member of the Senior Class of Hampden-Sidney College, has examined the catalogues of Union Theological Seminary (an institution supported by the Virginia and North Carolina synods) and has given the following

cational institutions. Noble and exalted aims! but in themselves not altogether favorable to the creation of an atmosphere charged with the electric current ready for a literary outburst.

The quarter of the century from 1825 to 1850 seems especially active in the intellectual life of the State. The older colleges become infused with new spirit. The theological seminaries at Hampden-Sidney and near Alexandria enter upon careers of distinguished usefulness. The University of Virginia opens its doors and achieves its pre-eminent position in the State and the South. There arise on all sides new institutions<sup>26</sup> with high educational and literary aims. Randolph-Macon, in Mecklenburg, and Emory and Henry in Washington county, are organized by the Methodists. The Baptists and the Lutherans put on foot the beginnings of Richmond and Roanoke Colleges. The State opens the Military Institute at Lexington, and one or two law and medical schools are started in different localities. Fur-

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estimates: From 1824 to 1892 there have matriculated 948 students. Of these 374 have come from the present counties in Virginia, 61 from those in West Virginia, and 184 from North Carolina, making a total of 619, and leaving 329 for other States. Hampden-Sidney College has contributed 225; Washington and Lee University (including Washington College), 139; Davidson College, North Carolina, 99; University of North Carolina, 40. Fifty-eight fall to the University of Virginia, but these, for the most part, have already been counted elsewhere. The representation of other colleges rapidly declines: King College, Tennessee, 39; Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, 20; Centre College, Kentucky, 18; Southwestern Presbyterian University, Tennessee, 17; Central University, Kentucky, 14, etc., etc.

The above figures are of course exclusive of the number from these several institutions who have gone to Princeton and other seminaries.

The Virginian representation according to counties would correspond generally with the figures already given: *e. g.*, Rockbridge 56, Augusta 32, Botetourt 9, Bedford 7—total 104, representing the Scotch-Irish strongholds. Further, Montgomery 9, Pulaski 4, Smyth 4, Wythe 7, Washington 12—total 36, for the Southwest. Prince Edward 30, Charlotte 16, Cumberland 12—total 58, for the local influence. Further, Appomattox 3, Buckingham 2, Powhatan 4, Chesterfield 3, Nottoway 3, Dinwiddie 9 (including Petersburg 5), Mecklenburg 2, Halifax 4—total 30, for the remaining South-side. Finally, for the cities: Richmond 26, Norfolk and Portsmouth 9, Alexandria 6, Fredericksburg 7, Lynchburg 10, Winchester 14—total 72. The rest are very scattering.

<sup>26</sup> H. B. Adams: *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia.*

ther, it is in this period that the *Southern Literary Messenger* is begun ; that other enterprises, lyceums, athenæums, and literary institutes, are attempted ; that the VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is founded and incorporated.

If the political and constitutional ferment during and after Revolutionary times checked the expansion of literary talent and turned the genius of the people to other channels, still darker grows the prospect toward the middle of the century. The *Southern Literary Messenger* affords a most pathetic instance. In its brief life of three decades (1834-'64) it never succeeded in casting off the shadow. With distinct and apparent effort to approach nearer the ideals of a literary organ, its literary features became submerged under its uses as a reflector of political sentiment, as a defender of southern institutions and Virginian rights. Constitutional and political questions absorbed all interest, all energy ; the exigencies of the time once more crushed out literature as an art and as a profession.

The influence of the colleges and seminaries could not retard this movement ; indeed, but accelerated it. All participated nobly in building up the culture, the educational and intellectual life of the State—each institution, each section, each element, happy that it could preserve withal a distinctive individuality. The State University had to be largely professional—aims very distinct from literary—and specialized in philology, in mathematics, in the sciences. On the other hand, the study of government, moral and political science, and the law, ever remaining popular and attractive with Virginian youth, intensified the zest for the practical politics of the day. Taking a look backward, we see that it could hardly have been otherwise. The conditions were not those for a creative and productive era, for an universal glow and spontaneous outburst indicative of an aggressive crusade. The very preference for country life was adverse. There was hardly occasion for literary criticism, for the higher flights of poetry, for the calm observant analysis of the writer of fiction. Edgar Poe looms out conspicuously not as one born of the times, but as a lurid meteor dashing across a darkling sky—and yet in this brilliancy matching with Hawthorne and Emerson as the three original and Titanesque appearances in American authorship.

There was no centre, whether at college or in a city, no system of large collections of books and constant public discourses; little opportunity for sympathetic mind to keep in touch with kindred spirit, laboring and studying and waiting, loving literature as an art, and art for art's sake.

Intellectual energy was suppressed. It was not free to move and range at will. There could not be freedom of thought when it was ever on the defensive, on the watch for the terrible conflict which was not to be averted !

JOHN BELL HENNEMAN.



## APPENDIX.

## TABLE FOR THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

[See note, p. 8.]

	1700-1800.		1800-1825.		1825-1861.		Whole No.	
	W. & M.	W. C.	W. & M.	W. C.	W. & M.	W. C.	W. & M.	W. C.
James City.....	73	....	59	3	175	1	307	4
Gloucester.....	54	....	21	....	48	2	123	2
Henrico.....	33	....	31	18	93	39	157	57
Charles City.....	29	....	21	3	33	....	83	3
York.....	27	....	10	....	20	....	57	....
Warwick.....	21	....	3	....	5	....	29	....
Elizabeth City.....	20	....	4	1	24	....	48	1
Middlesex.....	20	....	....	....	8	....	28	....
Norfolk.....	19	....	27	....	68	2	114	2
King George.....	17	....	5	4	11	1	33	5
Hanover.....	16	....	14	11	22	13	52	24
King & Queen.....	16	1	12	1	32	2	60	4
King William.....	16	....	9	6	14	1	39	7
Spotsylvania.....	16	3	3	3	13	1	32	7
Prince George.....	15	....	9	3	14	1	38	4
Westmoreland.....	14	....	8	2	6	....	28	2
Albemarle.....	13	1	13	17	5	25	31	43
Surry.....	12	....	4	....	18	....	34	....
Caroline.....	10	....	4	3	14	2	28	5
Louisa.....	10	1	6	5	5	5	21	11
Amherst.....	9	2	8	13	3	19	20	34
Dinwiddie.....	9	....	19	13	71	7	99	20
Stafford.....	8	....	1	4	....	1	9	5
New Kent.....	7	....	9	4	15	3	31	7
Northumberland.....	7	....	....	....	6	....	13	....
Accomac.....	6	....	1	1	30	1	37	2
Amelia.....	6	....	13	2	17	1	36	3
Brunswick.....	6	....	6	1	23	1	35	2
Chesterfield.....	6	....	16	4	14	3	36	7
Cumberland.....	6	....	3	13	13	16	22	29
Isle of Wight.....	6	....	6	....	17	....	29	....
Augusta.....	5	28	2	38	2	117	9	183
Northampton.....	5	....	4	1	28	....	37	1
Prince William.....	5	1	5	1	8	....	18	2
Fairfax.....	4	....	3	....	2	....	9	....
Orange.....	4	....	4	7	7	....	15	7
Prince Edward.....	4	1	2	2	4	8	10	11
Southampton.....	4	....	3	....	8	1	15	1
Fauquier.....	3	1	7	7	14	....	24	8
Frederick.....	3	2	8	4	7	3	18	9
Nansemond.....	3	....	5	....	7	1	15	1

## WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE—CONTINUED.

	1700-1800.		1800-1825.		1825-1861.		Whole No.	
	W. & M.	W. C.	W. & M.	W. C.	W. & M.	W. C.	W. & M.	W. C.
Charlotte .....	2	....	1	7	1	....	4	7
Essex.....	2	....	2	....	16	1	20	1
Goochland.....	2	....	8	6	9	5	19	11
Mecklenburg.....	2	....	11	4	17	2	30	6
Montgomery.....	2	2	1	3	....	16	3	21
Powhatan.....	2	1	18	11	12	2	32	14
Richmond.....	2	....	1	3	2	....	5	3
Bedford.....	1	10	1	13	2	23	4	46
Botetourt.....	1	8	2	22	5	43	8	73
Buckingham.....	1	....	....	10	9	27	10	37
Campbell.....	1	....	1	11	10	19	12	30
Culpeper.....	1	1	6	5	6	5	13	11
Halifax.....	1	....	1	7	16	8	18	15
Lancaster.....	1	....	....	1	6	....	7	1
Nottoway.....	1	....	4	....	12	7	17	7
Princess Anne.....	1	1	2	....	3	....	6	1
Sussex.....	1	....	6	....	16	....	23	
Loudoun.....			8	....	3	....	11	
Mathews.....			6	....	9	....	15	
Clarke.....			5	....	3	3	8	3
Lunenburg.....			4	2	15	14	19	16
Nelson.....		1	3	12	3	17	6	30
Fluvanna.....			2	1	6	4	8	5
Alexandria.....			1	2	6	....	7	2
Greenesville.....			1	....	18	....	19	
Rappahannock.....			1	....	1	....	2	
Rockbridge.....		58	1	105	3	362	4	525
Pittsylvania.....				10	6	18	6	28
Washington.....		3	....	3	3	1	3	7
Franklin.....				6	2	4	2	10
Henry.....		1	....	6	2	4	2	11
Patrick.....				1	2	2	2	3
Wythe.....				3	2	5	2	8
Page.....					1	....	1	
Roanoke.....				3	1	5	1	8
Shenandoah.....				1	1	5	1	6
Warren.....					1	....	1	
*West Virginia.....		5	4	18	10	80	14	103
Other States.....		8	11	30	26	169	118	207
†Unknown.....		122	9	144	66	23	5	289
Total.....		721	....	663	....	1,356	....	2,740

\* The present State.

† Not given.

No representation at all have the following counties, almost wholly in the west and southwest: Alleghany, Appomattox, Bath (Bland), Buchanan, Carroll, Craig, (Dickenson), Floyd, Giles, Grayson, Greene, Highland, Lee, Madison, Pulaski, Rockingham, Russell, Scott, Smyth, Tazewell and Wise.

## WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE—CONTINUED.

TABLE FOR OTHER STATES.

	Before 1801.	1801-1861.
Kentucky.....	I	12
Massachusetts.....		3
Maryland.....	4	29
South Carolina.....		7
Georgia.....		19
North Carolina.....	2	56
Tennessee.....		7
Pennsylvania.....		3
Mississippi.....		12
Florida.....		2
Alabama.....		22
New York.....		4
Louisiana.....		9
Missouri.....		3
District of Columbia.....		7
Maine.....		I
Illinois.....		I
Delaware.....		I
Bermuda .....	I	-I
Total.....	8	199

This "Table for Other States" differs slightly from the similar table of Mr. C. L. Smith, in Prof. H. B. Adams' treatise on "The College of William and Mary," but Mr. Moss claims to have verified his results more than once.

Mr. Moss further estimates that of the 307 from James City, 248 were from Williamsburg and 7 from Jamestown; of 157 from Henrico, 117 were from Richmond; of the 114 from Norfolk county, 100 were from Norfolk city and 12 from Portsmouth; of the 99 from Dinwiddie, 74 were from Petersburg; of the 48 from Elizabeth City, 28 were from Hampton; of the 32 from Spotsylvania, 19 were from Fredericksburg; of the 57 from York, 13 were from Yorktown; of the 18 from Frederick, 11 were from Winchester; of the 12 from Campbell, 10 were from Lynchburg; of the 36 from Chesterfield, 5 were from Manchester; of the 29 from the Isle of Wight, 5 were from Smithfield; of 5 from the Eastern Shore, 3 were given to Accomac county, and 2 to Northampton, on mere probability.

## TABLE FOR WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY.

	1749-1800.	1800-1825.	1825-1864.	1865-1875.	1875-'87.	Total.
Rockbridge.....	58	105	362	117	128	770
Augusta.....	28	38	117	53	26	262
Bedford.....	10	13	23	9	9	64
Botetourt.....	8	22	43	13	4	90
Spotsylvania.....	3	10	5	5	.....	23
Washington.....	3	3	1	3	1	11
Amherst.....	2	13	19	2	.....	36
Frederick.....	2	4	3	6	7	22
Montgomery.....	2	3	16	1	4	26
Albemarle.....	1	17	25	3	2	48
Culpeper.....	1	5	5	4	.....	15
Fauquier.....	1	7	.....	5	.....	13
Henry.....	1	6	4	.....	.....	11
King & Queen.....	1	1	2	.....	.....	4
Louisa.....	1	5	5	5	1	17
Nelson.....	1	12	17	1	1	32
Powhatan.....	1	11	2	7	2	23
Prince Edward.....	1	2	8	1	.....	12
Princess Anne.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Prince William.....	1	1	.....	.....	1	3
Rockingham.....	1	11	18	3	10	43
Henrico.....	18	39	9	12	78	78
Cumberland.....	13	16	6	.....	.....	35
Dinwiddie.....	13	7	6	1	27	27
Campbell.....	11	19	8	7	45	45
Hanover.....	11	13	8	.....	.....	32
Buckingham.....	10	27	1	.....	.....	38
Pittsylvania.....	10	18	7	.....	.....	35
Charlotte.....	9	9	5	.....	.....	23
Halifax.....	7	8	.....	1	16	16
Orange.....	7	.....	3	.....	.....	10
Franklin.....	6	4	.....	3	13	13
Goochland.....	6	5	3	.....	.....	14
King William.....	6	1	.....	1	8	8
Chesterfield.....	4	3	1	2	10	10
King George.....	4	1	2	.....	.....	7
Mecklenburg.....	4	2	.....	.....	.....	6
New Kent.....	4	3	.....	.....	.....	7
Stafford.....	4	1	.....	.....	.....	5
Caroline.....	3	2	2	.....	.....	7
Charles City.....	3	.....	1	.....	.....	4
James City.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	4
Prince George.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	4
Richmond.....	3	.....	.....	2	.....	5
Roanoke.....	3	5	2	2	4	14
Wythe.....	3	5	6	.....	.....	14
Alexandria.....	2	.....	6	2	2	10
Alleghany.....	2	6	3	.....	.....	11
Amelia.....	2	1	2	.....	.....	5

## WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY—CONTINUED.

	1749-1800.	1800-1825.	1825-1864.	1865-1875.	1875-'87.	Total.
Lunenburg .....	2	14	2	1	1	19
Westmoreland.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	3
Accomac.....	1	1	2	.....	.....	4
Appomattox.....	1	4	.....	1	1	6
Bath.....	1	8	1	1	1	II
Brunswick.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	3
Elizabeth City.....	1	.....	.....	1	1	2
Fluvanna.....	1	4	.....	.....	.....	5
Lancaster.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Madison.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Northampton.....	1	.....	3	.....	.....	4
Patrick.....	1	2	.....	1	1	4
Shenandoah.....	1	5	3	1	1	10
Highland.....	7	3	1	1	1	II
Nottoway .....	7	4	.....	.....	.....	II
Clarke.....	3	4	5	.....	.....	12
Gloucester.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Norfolk.....	2	1	6	.....	.....	9
Craig .....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Essex.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	2
Greene.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Nansemond.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	2
Pulaski.....	1	.....	3	.....	.....	4
Southampton.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	2
Loudoun.....	.....	7	5	.....	.....	12
Fairfax.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	3
Smyth .....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	3
Warren.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	3
Rappahannock.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2
Giles.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
Greenesville.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	1
Isle of Wight.....	.....	1	3	.....	.....	4
Floyd .....	.....	.....	2	.....	1	2
Carroll .....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1
Lee.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1
Mathews.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1
Page.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1
Sussex.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1
*Unknown.....	9	66	5	.....	.....	80
Other States:						
Pennsylvania.....	7	1	9	5	6	28
†West Virginia.....	5	18	80	41	51	195
Kentucky.....	2	9	7	156	63	237
North Carolina.....	1	3	18	41	5	68
South Carolina.....	1	3	1	46	31	82
Mississippi.....	4	.....	11	59	17	91
Georgia.....	2	10	64	19	19	95

\* Not given.

† The present State.

## WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY—CONTINUED.

	1749-1800.	1800-1825.	1825-1864.	1865-1875.	1875-'87.	Total.
Alabama .....	I		8	80	14	103
Connecticut.....	I					I
Tennessee.....	I		12	140	20	173
England.....	I					I
Louisiana.....			10	91	43	144
Arkansas.....			6	33	7	46
Missouri.....			5	46	19	70
Florida.....			4	12	7	23
Indiana.....			3	2	I	6
New Jersey.....			3	2		5
Maryland.....			3	37	19	59
New York.....			2	13	4	19
Ohio .....			2	4	6	12
Ireland.....			2			2
Illinois.....		I	4		I	6
Texas .....		I		135	65	201
California.....				6	I	7
District of Columbia.....				2	I	3
Massachusetts .....				2		2
Japan.....				2		2
Iowa.....				I	I	2
Kansas.....				I		I
France.....				I		I
Canada.....				I		I
Mexico..				I		I
Idaho .....				I		I
Oregon.....					3	3
Indian Territory.....					I	I
Central America.....					I	I
Grand total ....	153	588	1,141	1,398	673	3,953

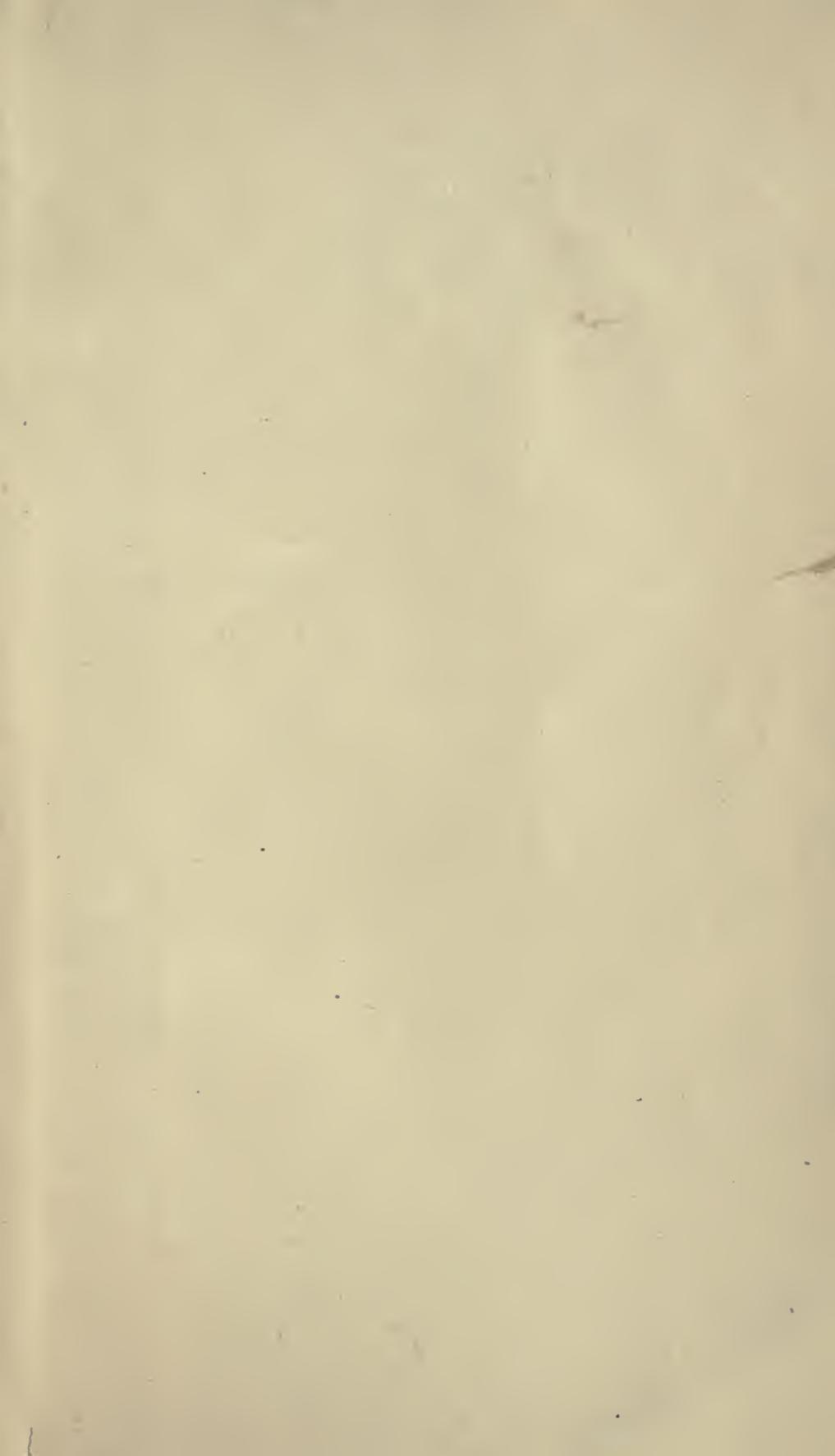
The number (3955) in the General Catalogue is incorrect, as two numbers (745 and 1,115) were omitted in counting.

Mr. Preston makes a note that of the 770 from Rockbridge, 243 were from Lexington; of the 78 from Henrico, 72 were from the city of Richmond; of the 262 from Augusta, 40 were from Staunton; of the 45 from Campbell, 30 were from Lynchburg; of the 27 from Dinwiddie, 23 were from Petersburg; of the 23 from Spotsylvania, 10 were from Fredericksburg; of the 35 from Pittsylvania, 8 were from Danville; of the 9 from Norfolk county, 7 were from Norfolk city.

Bland, Buchanan, Dickenson, Grayson, Russell, Tazewell and Wise counties in the west; and Middlesex, Northumberland, Surry, Warwick and York counties in the east, are not represented.







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